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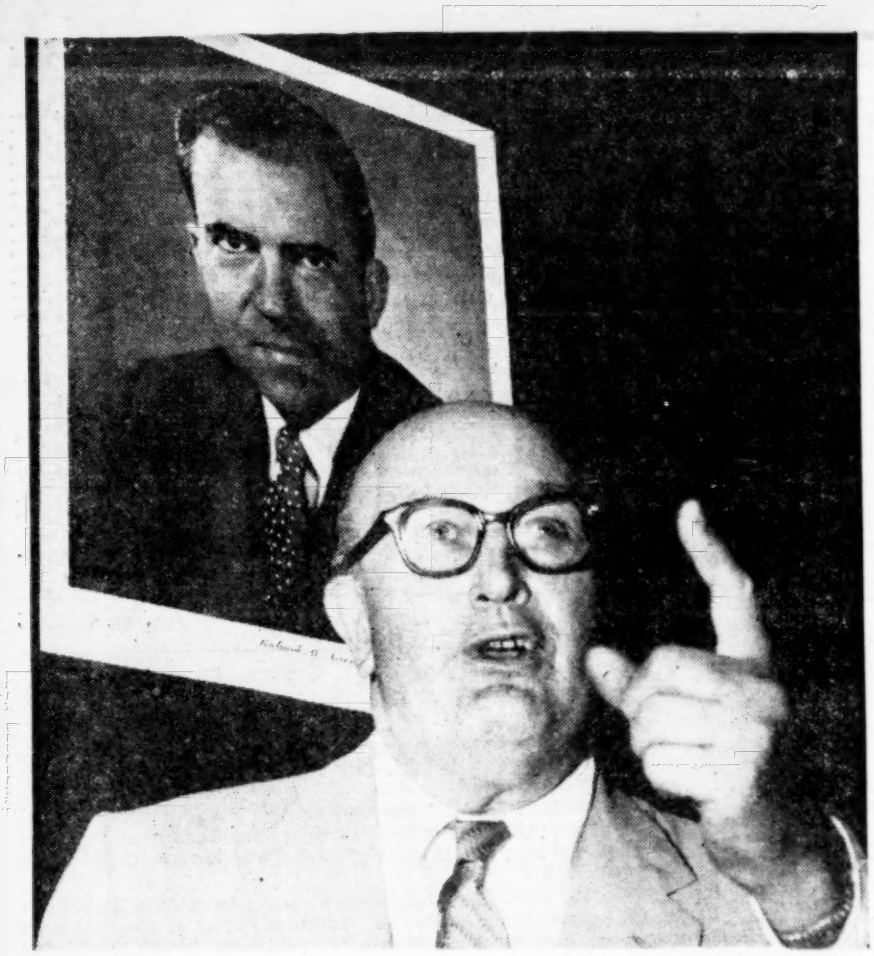

GOP Chairman Hall unanimously nominates Richard Nixon
See Report to Readers, p. 2

SECURITY PROGRAM CHALLENGED

Cain out, but others press to end the 'Big Fear'

By Lawrence Emery

EX-SEN. Harry P. Cain, whose spectacular switch from a small-bore backer of Joe McCarthy to a big-gauge critic of the Brownell-Eisenhower internal security program startled official Washington, predicted last May 17 that he would lose his job as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. On July 25 the prediction came true: the White House announced a brief letter from the President accepting Cain's resignation effective Aug. 9 when his three-year term expires.

The resignation was actually submitted a week earlier; in it Cain wrote that his actions and his criticism (which began in January, 1955) "have been founded on my devotion to the nation and on respect both for your high office and for you as a man of good will who believes that every citizen is entitled to just treatment from his government."

Cain predicted his ouster in a speech before the Denver branch of the American Civil Liberties Union: "My usefulness to the President . . . is, I believe, rapidly drawing to a close." In an interview on May 23 Mrs. Cain revealed that they had rented their Washington home and moved into a small one-bedroom apartment, that she had obtained a job in a decorating shop and had obtained a license to sell real estate, and planned to sell property the Cains owned in Tacoma, Wash., all in preparation for possible lean times ahead.

THE PALACE GUARD: Long before that, Cain had practically been read off the Eisenhower "team." While he was conducting an SACB hearing on the Washington Pension Union, the Dept. of Justice sought unsuccessfully to disqualify him for "bias." At another time top Presidential aide Sherman Adams called him in and, in Cain's words, gave him "unshirted hell."

But Cain became even more actively critical and seemed convinced that if he could get through the circle of Presidential advisers to the President himself, he could convince Mr. Eisenhower of the injustices inherent in the security set-up. The White House wouldn't even acknowledge letters he wrote.

So he sought to appeal to the President over the White House wall. In his Denver speech, one of the bluntest he has made, he declared that advisers who were supposed to keep the President informed instead "fed him only varnish." When White House press secretary James Hagerty was asked by reporters about this charge, he replied: "I never have any comment on Mr. Cain." But the strategy worked; the issue was now in the open and inevitably it came up at an Eisenhower press conference and couldn't be ducked. The President agreed to meet with Mr. Cain.

EVE OF ILEITIS: The meeting came on June 7 and lasted approximately 45 minutes instead of the allotted 30. Reporters interviewing Cain as he emerged wrote that he looked as if it had been a tense session, but Cain declared that the Pres-

(Continued on Page 5)

HARRY P. CAIN
The prediction came true

BIG POWERS MAP STRATEGY

West fears moves like Suez in other parts of the world

By Kumar Goshal

ON JULY 26—one week after Washington and London had withdrawn their offer of financial aid to build the Aswan Dam—Egypt's President Nasser retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal Co.

Speaking before a wildly cheering audience in Alexandria, Nasser said: "The Suez Canal belongs to us. [It] was built by Egyptians and 120,000 Egyptians died building it . . . Thirty-five million Egyptian pounds ($100 million) has been taken from us every year by the Suez Canal Company. We shall use that money to build the high dam. We shall rely on our own strength, our own muscle, our own funds."

Egyptian police immediately took over the Suez Canal Co.'s offices opposite the U.S. Embassy in Cairo. Egyptian troops occupied the company's offices in Port Said, at the Mediterranean end of the Canal, Ismailia, its midpoint, and Suez, its southern end. Military law was imposed on the Canal Zone. The company's international personnel was forbidden to leave under threat of imprisonment. This was done to ensure the maintenance of canal operation, Cairo said.

PASSAGE ASSURED: Nasser also announced that the company's stockholders would be compensated on the basis of current market quotations. He appointed Dr. Helmi Badawi, once an Egyptian delegate to the company's board of directors, as chairman of the newly-appointed all-Egyptian management of the Canal Co. Nasser assured normal passage of ships through the canal, provided tolls were paid to Egyptian authorities in acceptable currency and not deposited in London or Paris banks, as has been customary.

Washington, London and Paris were stunned by Nasser's action.

U.S. Secy. of State Dulles had taken the "calculated risk" of withdrawing Washington's offer of aid to finance the Aswan dam without anticipating such a dramatic counterstroke by Nasser. Dulles had counted on two possible results: (1) Moscow would disappoint Nasser on aid to build the dam, forcing him to return humbly to the Western camp and to accept Western aid for projects less costly than the $1,300,000,000 Aswan dam; (2) should Moscow agree to aid Egypt in building the dam, it would make Russia's allies jealous and would cause a severe drain on the Soviet economy, resulting in internal discontent in the Soviet Union.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Don't mind Dickie—he's just getting in practice for the campaign."

THEY ACT, IF—: Returning from a Latin American trip, Dulles severely condemned Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal Co.; Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy flew to London to consult with British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd

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Footsteps in the dark in the park

Last month the Presidents of the Americas gathered in Panama to formulate and sign a Declaration of Democracy and Brotherhood. Uncensored Latin American feeling on the conference is revealed in the comment below by the correspondent in Panama of the conservative Mexico City newspaper "Excelsior," July 21.

THE FIGURE of the President of Mexico, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, is winning an exalted position among those attending the Conference of American Presidents.

The opposition newspapers of Panama, where there is absolute freedom of the press, in judging the visitors, single out only two whom they consider worthy of praise. These are the Presidents of Mexico and of Uruguay.

In bold articles they say the point has been reached where only the President of Mexico could sleep on a bench in Santana Park without fear of something happening to him. Almost all the rest, the articles add, would not dare to venture out of their hotels without a detachment of the National Guard.

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THE MAIL BAG

I.L.W.U. Statement

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your issue of July 23, the I.L.W.U. policy statement on the need for a third party correctly sees both major parties as being bankrupt. After recognizing the fact that both major parties have nothing to offer the American people, the statement contradicts itself by saying we must support the representatives of these same major parties who supposedly work for the interest of the common people. It is rare to find a Democrat or Republican these days so independent as to forget he is bound to a political machine interested only in itself and certain vested interests. The article states that independent political action or third party action must be reserved for some future time. Although there is some validity in this conclusion, due to present conditions, my own integrity will compel me to cast a vote for the Socialist Labor Party, if there is no other alternative.

S. P.

A Third Party

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearings on the Air Force threw a glaring light on perhaps the most vital issue which will come before the American people in the November elections: war or peace. It is contended by many, including the Communist Party and many trade unions, that the "Cadillac Cabinet" must be defeated. This negative slogan is intended to rally all radicals, progressives, union members, the Negro people and other elements of the "peoples' coalition" behind the Democratic candidate for President and Democratic candidates for Congress, whoever they may be.

Regardless of the lack of merit of the Cadillac Cabinet, this policy constitutes a blank check for the most militaristic and warmongering of the two parties.

It is abundantly clear that the Democratic Party's foreign policy plank will support Congress in giving a reluctant Eisenhower Administration $900 million more for increasing the Air Force. This will come out of the pockets of those who constitute the bulk of the liberal coalition.

Today's situation is made to order for an independent Third Party with a program of peace, civil rights and civil liberties. I shall continue to fight to build such a party. We can thank the policy of "coalition" for the fact that we have no such party in the elections of 1956, but there is still an alternative.

There are three socialist candidates for President, at least one of whom will be on the ballot in New York and several other states in November. It is time for those who profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist. None of the three is perfect. However, all oppose war, favor labor, civil rights and civil liberties.

Because he and his party defend the achievements of the Soviet Union (although criticizing the brutalities of the Stalinist bureaucracy), and because he has fought valiantly for civil liberties for all, including the Communists, for civil rights and for labor's rights, I shall vote for Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Pary, in November.

The GUARDIAN has the opportunity this year to play the most valuable role of its eight years of existence. The GUARDIAN's independent status makes it possible for it to organize public forums on the issues of the '56 elections in which all political points of view could be debated. Such debates could clarify the issues and lead to a regroupment of the American Left after the elections. Will the GUARDIAN meet this challenge and become the 1956 version of Gene Debs' **Appeal to Reason**, which was read by nearly a million readers?

Clifford T. McAvoy

Marcantonio

DETROIT, MICH.

John T. McManus is right in citing the public record of Marcantonio as an example of what an independent political movement can produce. But Marc went far beyond public speeches and votes. His co-workers in New York know the kind of service Marc gave on the scene when he flew home weekends. But as one privileged to work with him in Washington, I saw how puny he made the efforts of most of the "labor" Congressmen look.

Marc would do the in-fighting in Committee; he would use his wits and his charm on other members in the cloak-rooms and in the hotel rooms. When he saw a bill headed for passage, he wouldn't wait for the labor lobbyists. More often he would instruct the labor representatives on how to conduct their fight.

He did immeasurable good simply by being there to act on the conscience of dozens of men who owed their election to the liberal vote. No one knows how many committee meetings they would have missed; how many petitions they would have ignored; how silent they might have remained on key issues if Marc had not been there.

He worked hard. He won the love and affection of millions, and the hate of the handful who wanted to see reaction win in America.

H. E. Jennings

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Unless you kill you are likely to suffer from repressions. Unless a young person can kill and see the blood of something he has killed, he is not normal.

Reuters report 6/7/56 of lecture by Prof. J.L.B. Smith, Rhodes University, Cape Province, S. Africa.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Dorothy S. De Lappe, Oakland, Calif.

Stump speech

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Morse for President! Fearless, faithful Morse! Back in '52, Eisenhower was no sooner elected than Morse instantly said, "He fooled the people to win his election!" Now Morse says Eisenhower is forging an "economic fascism" against the people.

Guile with a grin is no qualification for President of these United States and the American people will not be mocked by any such bad faith! Neuberger's exposè of "larceny at Hell's Canyon" cries aloud for Morse. Voters will go for Morse with thundering shouts of joy and make Gettysburg a last retreat for guilt and bad faith!

Horace Casselberry

Portia

ALTADENA, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN always reminds me of Portia's remark: "See how far that little candle throws its beam—so shines a good deed in a naughty world . . ." Long may you flourish in a good world.

Priscilla Esterman

N.Y. Herald Tribune

"The stations may have to give politicians equal time, but I dont."

Don't shoot!

MONTROSE, COLO.

Ezra's Farm Program reminds me of a story told during the New Deal days when agricultural brain-trusters sent out sharpshooters to reduce livestock surpluses.

One such agent came upon a herd of goats and, as he had no orders to shoot anything but cows, sheep and pigs, he wired back to headquarters in Washington as follows: "Ran across some animals, don't know what they are stop They have long faces, sorrowful expressions, chin whiskers and bare behinds stop What shall I do?"

Promptly the answer came: "Don't shoot stop They're the farmers stop."

Under Ezra's plan, could that description still fit the Western farmer?

Pearl Cline

Southern view

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Pete: "What is a friendly witness?"

Jake: "Some kind of a protected skunk."

R. E. Boe

Leaders as symbols

LOUISVILLE, KY.

If the greatness of Stalin was a myth, it was the belief that the power lay in him alone. The greatness was felt in many hearts—hearts that shared great ideas with him. Ideas have no power unless they correspond to actual human relationships — therefore the strength, the power of any society lies in conscious recognition of the direction that actual relationships are taking. If socialism is the correct solution to our industrial problems, then the sharing of the struggle toward it makes us great—it is in the common effort toward it that our hearts swell. Must we use our leaders as symbols of our own greatness? Hidden in our undemocratic adulation for leaders is our desire to shed our responsibility on their shoulders—we destroy them.

J. H.

Short snort

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Somebody is pouring troubled waters on Mid-East oil.

F. H.

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REPORT TO READERS

Harold's balloon

THE STASSEN AFFAIR has underscored two basic principles of American public life today: (1) there is nothing spontaneous in American politics; (2) mediocrity is the warmest recommendation for public office.

It is our conviction that Stassen's move to get the Republican Vice Presidential nomination for Governor Herter of Massachusetts was a trial balloon stage-managed by politicians to test the temper not of the public but of other politicians on the desirability of sticking with Dick Nixon. Whether Harold Stassen was a planner himself, or was used by the planners, makes not too much difference. Not many persons in the Administration love Harold. He has the most unpopular job in the Cabinet—seeking ways to disarmament in the board room of corporation men who cut their eye teeth (and their first million) on the making of arms.

It was almost as though the king-makers had said: Go forth, Childe Harold, and slay the Trickie Dickie Dragon; if thou dost succeed thou shalt have our daughter's hand (perhaps the Secretaryship of State when Marco Dulles lays down his carpet bag for good); if thou failest, well, thou art dead even now, so it matters naught.

Harold failed: he chose as a replacement for Nixon a political nonentity (see paragraph 1, subdivision 2) who knuckled under in a matter of hours and announced that he would be delighted to place the name of the distinguished Vice President in nomination for a second term. Talk about New England horse-trading!

IF THE INCIDENT accomplished anything, it laid to rest once and for all the romantic fable that our top officials are selected by hard-headed politicians in smoke-filled rooms in convention cities. Our top officials are in fact selected by hard-headed politicians in air-conditioned rooms in the nation's capital **before** the conventions.

And if anyone is still under the illusion that Stassen's move was spontaneous, this is what James Reston, the Washington correspondent of the N.Y. **Times**, wrote on July 24:

"This reporter has personal knowledge that if the President had told Mr. Stassen that he was determined to have Mr. Nixon on the ticket, or even that a public move on behalf of Governor Herter would embarrass the President, today's announcement [by Stassen] would not have been made."

The incident did one more thing: it demonstrated the full contempt with which the Republican high command regards the American voter. For it is no secret that the dislike and distrust of Nixon is almost universal—especially in view of the President's precarious health. But GOP national chairman Len Hall and his mob obviously are willing to trade on the President's popularity to jam through as his likely successor a man who is thoroughly unpopular—but thoroughly in their pocket.

SPEAKING OF CONTEMPT for the voters, the demonstration is just about parallel on the Democratic side, although it is still not quite certain whether the final choices have yet been made. The most signal contribution to the campaign on this side of the fence in the last weeks has been Governor Harriman's assertion that Mr. Eisenhower has been "too soft on Communism," and what the country needs is a permanently-frozen warrior like himself who will never make peace with the socialist world (he can document his record too).

From Adlai Stevenson we continue to get those Kute Kanned Komments on events as they happen, carefully gauged to offend neither East, West, North or South. And poor Estes Kefauver (the only one with a flicker of integrity and courage) is running for place or show—depending on what deal his managers can make.

We don't mean to intrude, but we thought we might offer you something to nibble on as you gather round the television set in middle August to watch the last vestigial circuses in San Francisco and Chicago, now that Ringling Brothers has folded its tents.

—THE GUARDIAN

GOVERNMENT POLICY CHALLENGED

Big auto strike spotlights British economic dilemma

Britain's biggest automobile strike in a generation got off to a confused start on July 23 when workers employed by the British Motor Corp. responded to a strike call by their unions. The strike came as a result of the corporation's laying off 6,000 employes without consultation or compensation. There were contradictory reports about how many of the 50,000 workers went out. Serious clashes were reported between strikers and non-strikers. The 1,300,000-member Transport and General Workers Union and the Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union have ordered their men to stop handling BMC products. Other unions representing dockers and engineers were reported considering supporting the strike. The strike spread to the British Ford factories and seriously affected the auto accessories industries. The following story by GUARDIAN correspondent Gordon Schaffer gives the background of the strike.

By Gordon Schaffer
(Special to the GUARDIAN)

LONDON

THE STRIKE at Birmingham, Coventry and Oxford is the strongest trade union challenge yet to the government's policy of deliberately creating unemployment.

Politicians—Conservative and Labour—do not admit this policy, knowing the British workers' fear of a return to the queues of the unemployed of the years between the wars. But the **Economist** and the financial columns of the daily papers do not deny the truth.

The government's 1956 economic survey said: "The aim of economic policy throughout the year will be to limit home demand so that our production can be exported and . . . the growth of imports moderated. The growth of consumers' expenditure must also be checked." By curtailing credits, cutting installment buying and other measures, the government is reducing the home market for cars and other products in the hope of forcing manufacturers to sell their products abroad.

HOME DEMAND: In reality, in a capitalist economy, exports must be built up on a flourishing home demand, as is the case in Britain's most dangerous competitor, W. Germany. The British manufacturers are finding orders drying up and, as employers always do, they are making their workers the victims; they are also cutting labor costs by introducing automatic machinery.

Earlier, when Standard Motors fired some workers, the unions at least forced the employers to discuss ways of spreading out the work and the pay. Immediately afterwards, British Motors announced the firing of 6,000 workers—12½% of their labor force—and refused to discuss spreading the work or the pay. The 15 unions with members in the firm, acting through the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions (comprising 35 unions) called an official strike.

While some newspapers have suggested that unwilling workers are being pushed into the strike by their leaders, the ultra-right-wing **Daily Telegraph** has blamed the employers for precipitating the strike. Accusing them of pursuing a short-sighted policy, the **Telegraph** said they were better able to stand a loss of production than the employes could stand a loss of wages while on strike.

THE REAL CAUSES: Some industrialists seem alarmed at the prospect of an all-out battle with a group of powerful trade unions; for, once the trade unions are committed to such a struggle, they may be forced to look further than the slump in the auto industry. Trade unions may demand action against the real causes of Britain's precarious economic situation, the most notable being the monstrous burden of arms expenditure and the U.S.-imposed embargo on trade with socialist countries.

A clash must expose the real class division in Britain: after a decade in which the car manufacturers have reaped vast profits, the workers who created the wealth are to be thrown on the scrap heap. Recently the London **Evening Standard** disclosed that shares in the major monopolies—steel, chemicals, auto, shipbuilding—had multiplied five to ten times its value since 1943.

THE ALTERNATIVES: Today the government and town councils are able to borrow money only by offering higher interest rates. In other words, people with capital to invest are securing a higher share of the national income at a moment when millions of workers are threatened with loss of jobs and wages.

When consumer demand at home falls and exports do not rise, the capitalists are faced with three alternatives: (1) find new export markets, (2) fire workers or (3) reduce working hours. The first possibility is out as far as markets in the West are concerned, because of ever-increasing competition—hence the pressure for lifting embargoes on trade with socialist countries coming from industrialists as well as trade unions. Unemployment or reduced working hours must further decrease purchasing power unless steps are taken to increase it among the workers—a solution the industrialists will never accept.

BASIC STRUCTURE: There is a real issue facing the unions. Merely to strike against firings is a demonstration of defiance, and the odds are against the workers because the employers are quite happy to see a slow-down in production. The fundamental struggle must be against the government's efforts to reduce all living standards.

The employers are demanding the sole right to decide on everything except wages and working hours on which they have been forced to negotiate with the unions. By officially endorsing the British Motor strike, the unions have made their stand on the principle that employers can no longer be allowed unfettered power. And that in its turn will force the trade unions, who are the real power in the Labour Party, to face the simple issue that a government supporting big industry and its employers cannot insure either full employment or security.

BRITISH AUTO WORKERS TAKE GRIEVANCES TO COMMONS
Thousands of trade unionists demonstrated in London in July

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Fortunately for us, Miss Filebrace, in our Service the continuing need for the personal touch renders the introduction of automation well-nigh impossible."

THE STAKE IN THE CHERNIN CASE

10,000 naturalized citizens in peril

ON JULY 16, following a month-long trial, briefs were submitted to Federal Judge Harry C. Westover in Los Angeles in denaturalization proceedings against Rose Chernin Kusnitz. Miss Chernin is executive director of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and is one of the 14 California Smith Act defendants whose convictions are now before the Supreme Court.

The case is described as a "pilot" case because the prosecution made it clear that an objective of the proceeding was to upset the Supreme Court's Schneiderman decision of 1943. This decision found in the case of William Schneiderman, represented by the late Wendell Willkie, that membership or even holding office in the Communist Party did not prove disloyalty to the U.S. If the Chernin case can be won in spite of the Schneiderman decision, Atty. Gen. Brownell has indicated that he will move similarly against some 10,000 other naturalized citizens for alleged CP membership. The Walter-McCarran Law, under which Rose Chernin has been tried, was intended to vacate the Schneiderman decision. Prosecution counsel informed Judge Westover during the proceedings that the Attorney General "has instructed us not to accept" the premise of the Schneiderman decision but rather try to establish a new legal basis for McCarran-Walter cases.

FAMILIAR FACES: Miss Chernin was born in Russia in 1903, came here at 11 and in 1926 married a U.S. citizen. She applied in 1927 for citizenship, which was granted. The Immigration Service moved against her in 1953, while her Smith Act conviction was under appeal, but was twice forced to amend its suit and finally to produce witnesses, in the trial just concluded. The witnesses were Maurice Malkin, Joseph Kornfeder, Leonard Patterson and John Leech, all familiar faces in Dept. of Justice anti-Communist cases.

The well-known West Coast journalist and lecturer Martin Hall reported during the trial a "brilliant maneuver" by defense counsel John Porter to discredit Malkin, the first government witness. Malkin was prepared to identify Miss Chernin and place her at Communist meetings in N. Y. in 1927-28. Porter succeeded in having government witnesses excluded from the courtroom until they appeared to testify; and also won the right to seat his client among the spectators rather than next to him at the counsel table. In that morning session Miss Chernin sat between a woman and a man in a gray suit.

"I GUESS I CAN'T": When Malkin took the stand that afternoon, he testified to having seen Miss Chernin at CP meetings in 1927-28. When asked to pick her out among the spectators, he promptly selected a woman sitting between the two spectators who had flanked Miss Chernin that morning. It was not Miss Chernin. The Judge told him to find her in the audience. Malkin sweated visibly but finally said, "I guess I can't." Miss Chernin, foreseeing that she might be "spotted" for Malkin, who actually had never seen her, had changed her seat.

Malkin was nevertheless permitted to testify but the judge challenged some of his testimony sharply as well as that of other government witnesses and finally rebuked the prosecution with the remark:

"The trouble with this case is that you are trying to set aside too many of the rules of evidence in order to get into the record what you would like there."

APPEAL CERTAIN: Called to the stand by the prosecution, Miss Chernin denied the charges that she had been a Communist prior to naturalization in 1927 but stood on the Fifth Amendment for the period thereafter.

Whichever way Judge Westover's decision goes, it will certainly be appealed either by the government or the defense. Funds for carrying on the case may be sent to Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Boat ride Aug. 17

The good ship Circle Line VIII has been chartered by the friends of the Powells and Julian Schuman for a moonlight voyage around Manhattan Island and up the Hudson River from 7 to 11 p.m. Friday, Aug. 17. Jackie Berman, folk singer, will entertain. Embarkation at Pier 83, foot of West 43rd St. Tickets are $3 for adults, $2 for children under 13. Supper on board optional, at an additional charge. Friends and well-wishers can obtain tickets from Ida Pruitt, 103 W. 93d St., New York City, MOnument 2-1088.

TABITHA PETRAN IN CENTRAL ASIA

Stalin and the nationalities: Uzbek leader gives views

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN

THE UZBEKISTAN multinational republic, with 60 nationalities, offers an opportunity to study first-hand in actual practice the U.S.S.R.'s national question. Since publication of the 20th Congress disclosures on the "cult of Stalin" and other revelations, many questions have been asked outside the USSR regarding Soviet policy toward national minorities.

Giant strides in the Central Asian republics since the revolution are too easily measurable to be denied even by the U.S.S.R.'s severest critics; and indeed seem to testify to a successful nationality policy. So does the colorful spectacle of the peoples of these 60 nationalities: there are almost as many national costumes crowding Tashkent's lovely theatrical square, after a day's blazing heat, to enjoy the cool evening breeze and spray of the city's many fountains. So does the fact that in every enterprise many nationalities of Europeans and Asians work together without a sign of race discrimination.

EFFECT OF STALIN: But the questions raised concerning Stalin's effect on the national question are real. N. A. Muhitdinov, first secy. of the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP, discussed these questions in an interview here with this correspondent. Muhitdinov was born in the year of the October revolution and was elected a candidate for membership in the Presidium at the 20th Congress. He is its first Asian representative in the Party's 50-year existence.

He insisted that the "Soviet CP never in nearly 40 years of Soviet power deviated from Lenin's policy on the national question." But at the same time he said that "the Stalin cult did have and couldn't fail to have an effect on the development of the national problem. Stalin's authority as such could influence its development, but even if he had wanted to, it was impossible to change policy." Stalin's works on the national question are still sold throughout the Soviet Union, but Muhitdinov indicated that his theoretical and practical contribution in this field are now both questioned.

LENIN'S THEORY: In the first years of Soviet power, when the Party and the government were trying to work out the status of many nationalities and the relations between them, Stalin, according to Muhitdinov, advocated an autonomy of all nationalities and minorities which, to a great extent, would have limited the sovereignty rights of the national republics and centralized power. But Lenin firmly defended the theory of giving all nationalities full freedom, the right to self-determination and independence, so that all nations and and nationalities in Russia would have full sovereignty, equal rights and be able on an equal basis as independent states freely to unite into one union. Lenin's theory triumphed, he said.

In Muhitdinov's view, Stalin's worst failure on the national question was that he had no understanding of the national republics, each of which has its own character and culture. Without this understanding, Stalin "couldn't be a good leader of a multi-national state." Stalin had never been in Central Asia.

A DAY IN THE SUN IN TASHKENT
Young student in a park of the Uzbek capital

WHAT HAPPENED: "Maybe in the first years of the Soviet state," Muhitdinov said, "Stalin's lack of familiarity with the national republics didn't have such an important effect. But when the national intelligentsia in the republics created scientific and technical cadres developed under new conditions, this lack of understanding couldn't help but affect the national question."

The result was too little representation of the republics in the Party and government organs, overcentralization of control in Moscow, inadequate ties between the Union and republic organizations and sometimes injuries to national pride. He went on:

"Stalin and his closest co-workers, Beria and Bagiroff, the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP, had in a number of speeches and actions offended nationalities." Muhitdinov cited Bagiroff's characterization of Azerbaijan's national hero, Shamil, as a reactionary; Beria's attitude toward some nationalities in the Caucasus and the arrest of the Jewish doctors. He attributed all these to Beria but found it impossible to believe that Stalin didn't know.

STEPS FORWARD: Steps are being taken to advance the national policy, Muhitdinov said. He cited these as the most important:

First, decentralization of leadership, giving new initiative and rights to national republics and broadening the functions of the republic organizations. Much industry formerly controlled by the U.S.S.R. is now republic-controlled. Tashkent's giant textile combine was recently turned over to Uzbekistan control. Muhitdinov said the change meant greater efficiency because decisions could now be made on the spot. There are more profits since the U.S.S.R. share now goes to the republic. Production is now governed by what Central Asia wants and needs rather than by orders placed from Moscow.

Second, and "exceedingly important," the liquidation of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Justice and giving the republics the right to draw up their own law codes and greater jurisdiction.

Third, greater representation of the republics in Party and government establishments. For example, the 17th, 18th and 19th Congresses elected a total of five Uzbeks to the Central Committee; the 20th elected six, including one woman.

Fourth, the establishment of closer relations between the U.S.S.R. and republic organizations. Khrushchev already has visited Central Asia three times, Bulganin twice, Mikoyan and others many times. They come "not only to study the situation, but to help organize work and life here better."

Fifth, the institution of international relations between republics and foreign states. The Uzbek Republic, for example, invites delegations from many countries and thousands of Uzbek people travel abroad individually or as members of government delegations.

Sixth, much attention was paid at the 20th Congress and in the sixth 5-year-plan to developing industry and the living standards of the East.

AN EXPLANATION: Muhitdinov, as did the Central Committee a few days later, declared that no basis existed for "the Stalin cult" within the State and Party structure. He said it grew out of certain personal qualities of Stalin and took such a distorted form because of the great historical successes of socialism. He said that if at some crucial point the State had been unsuccessful, the "cult" would not have broadened to such an extent. During Stalin's lifetime, he said, much was done to mitigate its effects.

"When we disclosed the Stalin cult," he said, "we didn't aim to put all the blame on the dead Stalin. We wanted to make impossible any new appearance of the cult. Of course the cult could have been disclosed earlier, but we were passing through a crucial period when it was necessary to concentrate all efforts in one direction to maintain unity and not be divided. It was especially difficult to find a suitable opportunity to do so because during all this period of our development, the Central Committee was working out correct policies and program."

Stalin, during all this period, was Secretary of the Central Committee and undeniably its dominant figure.

What Khrushchev said

In apparent contradiction to the assertion by Muhitdinov that there had been no deviation from Lenin's policy on the national question despite the "Stalin cult," Nikita Khrushchev, first sec'y of the Soviet CP, said the following in his famous report to the 20th Congress:

THE SOVIET UNION is justly considered as a model of a multi-national state because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great fatherland.

All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy of the Soviet State. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations, together with all Communists and Komsomols without exception; this deportation action was not dictated by any military considerations.

Thus, already at the end of 1943, where there occurred a permanent breakthrough at the fronts . . . a decision was taken and executed concerning the deportation of all Karachai from the lands on which they lived. In the same period, at the end of December, 1943, the same lot befell the whole population of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic.

In March, 1944, all the Chechen and Ingush peoples were deported and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic was liquidated. In April, 1944, all Balkars were deported to faraway places from the territory of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic and the republic itself was renamed the Kabardinian Autonomous Republic.

The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also.

Not only a Marxist-Leninist, but also no man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for inimical activity, including women, children, old people, Communists, and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons.

PRESIDENT SIGNS

Smith Act terms upped to 20 yrs.

IT WASN'T EXACTLY a sneak play, but Congress as quietly as possible on July 13 passed and sent to the White House a bill which would up penalties under the Smith Act to 20 years in prison and a $20,000 fine. Present penalties range from five years to a maximum of ten. On July 24 the President signed the bill.

The measure is part of the package of repressive laws advocated by Atty. Gen. Brownell, most of which have now been enacted. In pressing for adoption of this one, Brownell complained that present penalties are "totally inadequate" and said that "approximately one-third of the sentence may never be served if a prisoner conducts himself properly in the penitentiary. A little more than three years imprisonment is entirely inadequate as a deterrent for those who would conspire to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of our government."

The bill passed the House unanimously on July 5, 1955. On April 19 this year the Senate, without debate, passed a slightly different version which went to a joint House-Senate conference to adjust minor variations.

Security program

(Continued from Page 1)

ident seemed indignant at some of the injustices he cited and that he himself couldn't have been treated "more generously, courteously, or in a more friendly fashion."

But it was the evening of that same day that Mr. Eisenhower was stricken with ileitis; during his long convalescence it would seem that the White House team is again shielding him from unpleasant truths. In any case, Mr. Eisenhower has not seen fit to reappoint Mr. Cain.

A BIT MORE COURAGE: But the Cain criticisms, carrying all the more weight because of his ultra-conservative past, seem to be giving heart to many people who lacked it while the Big Fear was on.

● The Assn. of the Bar of the City of New York, conservative as it is, has found the courage to report that the security system is less than it ought to be in a free society.

● A Congressional subcommittee headed by Sen. Olin D. Johnston, after lengthy hearings, has issued a majority report calling for protection of the "dignity and human rights of the Federal employe." It declares that "the scrambling of the three categories of loyalty, security and suitability under one general classification of 'security risk' has brought about endless confusion" and it charges the Administration with compiling "risk" dismissal figures "which basically are dishonest."

● Another official 12-man commission is now undertaking a full-scale survey of the entire problem; although none of its members have any known record of even lukewarm support of civil liberties, the formation of the commission was due to the proddings of those now speaking up.

ROTTEN AT THE CORE: But the Headhunters are still at work and last week there was a powerful drive in Congress for immediate passage of the bill sponsored by Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) which would nullify the recent Supreme Court decision which struck down the blanket application of the Eisenhower security program and limited it to government employes in "sensitive" jobs. Harry Cain calls this legislation "an entirely new and fascist" approach to security and says that its adoption would be the "most grievous wound" ever suffered by liberty in this country.

The Supreme Court has yet to rule on the heart of the security program as now practiced: the use of anonymous informers against whom the accused have no recourse—not even the right to know the charges against them. In the one case where the issue of "confrontation"—the right of the accused to face and cross-examine his accuser—is clearcut, the Justice Dept. decided not to risk an appeal to the Supreme Court for fear it would lose.

THE SCREENED SEAMEN: The case arose from a lawsuit filed in 1951 on the West Coast in behalf of six seamen "screened" off the waterfront by the Coast Guard as security risks. A lower court ruling in that year ordered the Coast Guard to present screening victims with a bill of particulars specifying the charges against them; it did not provide the right of confrontation. The decision was appealed and in 1955 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed it with a blistering attack on the use of "talebearers, whisperers and faceless informers." The court said that "a doubtful system of secret informers . . . cannot justify an abandonment here of the ancient standards of due process" and added that "it is a matter of public record that the somewhat comparable security risk program directed at government employes has been used to victimize perfectly innocent men."

The Dispatcher (ILWU), San Francisco

The government had 90 days in which to decide whether to appeal this ruling to the Supreme Court; it asked for two additional months to study the matter. When it decided not to risk an appeal, attorneys for the seamen moved for an injunction to spell out the Circuit Court's decision. A hearing was set for May 3.

TRADITION BREACHED: A week earlier, on April 25, the Coast Guard announced new screening regulations to conform with the court ruling, but it ducked the crucial issue of confrontation, of which the Circuit Court had said: "Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?"

After considerable delays by the government, Federal Judge Edward F. Murphy in San Francisco last month ordered the Coast Guard to return shipping papers "forthwith" to all screened seamen (some 500 on the West Coast) and granted an injunction forbidding the Coast Guard "from preventing in any way seamen from working on ships until after they have had a hearing."

The government promptly applied for a stay of execution, which the Circuit Court granted. A hearing is now set for Aug. 7 on the Coast Guard's appeal.

Who could forget Marc?

On the morning of Aug. 9, 1954, former Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) fell dead from a heart attack on Broadway around the corner from his law office near New York City Hall. He was 52. Already fighting a come-back campaign for the Congressional seat he lost to a three-party coalition candidate in 1950, he was then at work on the Supreme Court brief against the McCarran Act and its creature, the Subversive Activities Control Board, based on the SACB ruling ordering the Communist Party to register as a subversive organization. (The Supreme Court this spring countermanded the SACB ruling because it accepted tainted testimony; but did not rule on the constitutionaljity of the Act). The photograph above, showing Marc on his street-meeting trailer in the 1950 campaign, is one of some 70 contained in the new volume of his speeches and writings, "I Vote My Conscience," obtainable from Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 247 E. 116th St., N.Y. 29; 494 pp. $5.

Paradise regained

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Description of the Ciba product Ritalin in a drug catalogue

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

and French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau.

Reaction in London and Paris was more violent, since the Suez Canal project and company were originally started by France, and the British today are the largest stockholders. France hinted darkly at punitive action against Egypt—if Britain supported her. British officials reportedly (AP, 7/28) were willing to challenge Egypt's control of the canal by sending through a British ship which would refuse to recognize Egyptian authority; but London wanted a guarantee of U.S. backing.

ASSETS ARE FROZEN: Reports of consultations between British and American military staffs hinted at threats of military action against Nasser. U.S. Adm. Walter F. Bone, C-in-C of E. Atlantic and Mediterranean fleet, which includes the mighty atomic weapon-equipped U.S. Sixth Fleet, accompanied Murphy to London. The Sixth Fleet was reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/30) to be on "standby alert" status, "ready to move swiftly to protect American nationals" in case of trouble in the Canal Zone.

Britain froze Egyptian assets in London; Nasser countered by barring all exports to Britain and its colonies, then rescinded the action in an effort to restore normal relations with the West. France held off freezing Egypt's microscopic assets in Paris for fear of jeopardizing its $1,285,000,000 assets in Cairo, but was finally "compelled to follow the British lead" (NYHT 7/30).

THE FALLING MARKET: The news of the Suez seizure jolted stock markets in the West. In London oil stocks fell off sharply. Reaction in New York was only a little less severe. In Paris the Suez Canal Co.'s stock dropped from $202 (7/26) to $150 (7/27) per common share. Esso Standard Oil skidded $6.50 a share.

Reaction elsewhere was different. Moscow papers supported Egypt's right to nationalize its resources, said nothing about Soviet aid to build the Aswan dam, which Nasser will surely discuss during his mid-August visit to the U.S.S.R. The Arab world enthusiastically supported Nasser. Jordan's ruler wired Nasser his approval of the seizure. Arab nationalists urged nationalization of other foreign interests. Indian newspapers endorsed Egypt's right to nationalize the canal, but deplored Nasser's manner and timing. Israel became increasingly worried over the security of its ships passing through the canal.

THE BACKGROUND: As the GUARDIAN went to press the Western powers were still talking tough, but making specific proposals and obliquely showing the reasons for their agitation. British Prime Minister Anthony Eden halted arms shipments to Egypt and told Parliament that the Royal Navy "will be able to take care of" two British destroyers previously sold to Nasser.

French Premier Guy Mollet accused Nasser of imitating Hitler, was especially resentful of Nasser's alleged aid to Algerian nationalists. Britain and France adamantly opposed control of the Suez Canal by one power; they urged the U.S. to support a move to put the canal under international supervision, perhaps through the UN, with Egypt having a "special" administering position and a share in the canal's operating revenues.

The West's agitation over the loss of control over the Suez Canal was understandable. The canal was built by France during the period of intense French-British rivalry for control of the East Indies and its trade. Opened in 1869, it was leased for 99 years by the Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez, largely controlled by French stockholders and the ruler of Egypt. It was to revert to Egypt in 1968.

Realizing that it was becoming "the lifeline of the Empire," British Prime Minister Disraeli in 1875, without consulting Parliament, bought the shares belonging to the profligate Egyptian ruler who was desperately in need of money. Securing 44% of the stock, Britain became the largest single shareholder and the dominant partner in the company.

SHIPS OF 48 NATIONS: The Suez Canal greatly shortened the West-East shipping route, reduced the cost of transporting Eastern raw materials to the West and Western goods to the Eastern market. Annual tonnage through the 103-mile long canal is more than twice that of the Panama Canal. Ships of 48 nations ply the canal, with British ships leading and U.S. vessels second.

By controlling the Suez Canal, Britain for decades controlled its empire, dominated the Middle East, held a trump card in the game of imperialist power politics of Western Europe during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Only a month ago Britain was forced by Egypt to evacuate its troops from the Canal Zone.

EXAMPLE FOR OTHERS? Impartial observers concede that Nasser has the legal right to nationalize the Suez Canal Co., since it is registered in Egypt, although its main offices are in Paris. Economists also agree that "if Egypt can realize at least the better part of the annual revenue of $100 million" from the canal, it can finance the Aswan dam (N.Y. **Times**, 7/29).

The West is especially worried over the possible repercussions of Nasser's action in other parts of the world where there are large Western investments. Hence the inspired reports (**Christian Science Monitor**, 7/27) with their implied warnings that Nasser's act "may have as serious consequences for himself and his country as the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951 had for Iran and its fiery Premier, Mossadegh."

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BOOKS

For the hammock

Read any good books lately? Well, it so happens, yes. The brevity of these notes should not be misconstrued: they gre a space-saving way of saying that if these works sound interesting, the rest is up to you—to buy them, that is.

You should live to a hundred

● Among the timeliest for summer is **Health and Long Life**, by Charlotte and Dyson Carter (News-Facts, 753 Bathurst St., Toronto, Can., $1.). This is a personal report by the Carters, both well-known to GUARDIAN readers, on Soviet health methods—diet, exercise, medication, recreation and sleeping habits—gathered in 1950 and 1955 during visits there. The contents are most challenging and engagingly presented. They may not be dismissed as fad-ism since they are the findings of a society working fulltime for national health. Just as a sampler for summer, here are the Soviet rules for safe bathing:

Take your dip or swim at the same time each day. Never go into the water when perspiring or with "gooseflesh"; get dry and warm first. Go into the water slowly at first. Unless you are in perfect health, five minutes is enough; the healthiest person should limit bathing to 20 minutes. If you come out shivering or with pale fingers or "blue" legs, bathing is harming, not helping you. Never float or sit motionless in water; always keep moving. Take your sunbath before, not after swimming; dry and dress immediately after leaving the water.

The rest is just as revolutionary, but under such a regimen in Armenia, for example, the number of people aged 85-89 has increased 400% since 1926; the number 90 or over, 79%. There are 2,600 people over 90 and 340 over 100. In another group of 1,200 over-90's, 270 were over 100, one was 133. Say the Soviet doctors:

"The way is now open for millions of men and women, now living, to live to the age of 100 years."

Interested?

Better than a Baedeker

● More travels abroad are reported on in **Springtime on the Danube** by Jannie Bouissounouse and Louis de Villefosse, a French Mr. and Mrs. pair who revisited Hungary in 1954 and published their book in Paris in 1955. This edition ($1.50) is translated by Clara Ryan, illustrated by Hugo Gellert, and issued as a French-style pocketbook by the weekly N.Y. **Hungarian Word**, 130 E. 16th St., N.Y. 3.

Villefosse, an asst. chief of the Free French Navy, took part in the Normandy Beach landing in '44. He has written a biography of Machiavelli and many other books. His wife wrote a best-seller on the resistance movement, **Ten for One**; has written books on Isabella, Mary Stuart and Joan of Arc and is a newspaper correspondent.

In Hungary the authors met and talked with leading writers, artists, theater people, a minimum of political leaders, a smattering on farms and in industry, lots of plain people enjoying new lives. One thing seems to come through without special mention: Hungary had well before the 20th Congress assumed "autonomy" and undertaken effective criticism of lagging leadership.

The writers are not Communists but, as they say, the West "cannot seriously mean to delete from its maps" a country that has "a curious genius of its own and continues, like it or not, to flower and increase in vitality." Their book abounds in good detail, moves and converses at a breathless pace and seems to pause only to fill you in on the relevant history of the country. For those who travel, better than a Baedeker. For stay-at-homes, one more country heard from.

A vital period of history

● The title **Essays in Political and Intellectual History** might, without a note such as this, make you shy violently away from one of the most fascinating examinations of vital history—that of France from the Revolution in 1789 through the Paris Commune uprising of March, 1871, and its aftermaths as late as 1880. The Essays, by Samuel Bernstein (Paine-Whitman, 1182 Broadway, N.Y. 1, $4) illuminates the role of Marat, for example, "the sentinel of the people" who fought until his death against the compromises which ultimately lost the Revolution and, a half century before Marx, saw the working people as alone with "the sense and courage . . . to ensure the success of a popular movement." Robespierre, Jefferson, Babeuf (executed for plotting "overthrow of the government," actually for opposing overthrow and restoration of monarchy), these and other monuments of democracy's rise live again in this book's carefully-documented 224 pages. The chapter "The American Press Views the Commune" might have been compiled from newspapers of our time viewing the Chinese revolution. We have recommended this book to people writing to us for sources on the French revolution and recommend it to you for steadying reading in rocky times.

Girl in a mining town

● **Misko** is a children's book, for ages 8-14 perhaps, thoughtfully sent to us by the author, Alvena Seckar (Oxford University Press, N.Y., $2.75). It is a story of children in a mining community of Slovak, Italian, Lithuanian and other origins. It has been cordially welcomed to library shelves by the United Cerebral Palsy Assns. of New Jersey (the author's home state) because of its fine treatment of a cerebral palsy victim among the book's children. We submitted it to a 12-year-old girl from a mining area in Pennsylvania. She read it avidly, readily got the point of the need for understanding and help for the handicapped, but observed that maybe the people in the mining districts were that way in the author's girlhood but not now. You know, no T-V, no Elvis Presley, only accordions and stuff like that.

—John T. McManus

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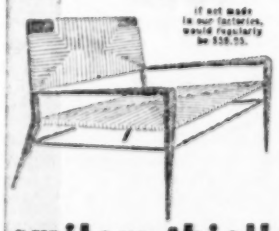

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This is Moscow

By Cedric Belfrage

MOSCOW

IN THIS FABULOUS CITY, the center of the world's attention since the 20th CPSU congress made us aware of Russia's "second revolution," developments succeed one another at a pace which drives even veteran pundits on this beat to vodka.

As I go about on foot or in the fine buses and subway or the frenzied odoriferous taxis, I am conscious of the tremendous events that have hammered Moscow's soul since 1936 when I was last here: treason trials, Munich betrayals, the war whose material ravages have been wiped away, the spread of socialism across one-third of the earth, the cold war and Geneva easing of tensions. Above all is the joy of being alive here among healthy, active people in streets that are whole and bright with hope; the consciousness of all humanity's debt to the Soviet Union, for its victory for peace over the war that **Collier's** blueprinted to turn this and many Western cities into radioactive ruins.

SEEING THE GORGEOUS Fountain of Bakhchsarai ballet with the Shah of Iran and his Soviet government hosts a few yards away in the Bolshoi Theater, I felt the dizzy pace of the peace-making policies initiated from here. In a scant 2 weeks alone the state visitors to Moscow have included Yugoslavia's Tito, Indian vice-president Radhakrishnan, Gen. Twining & Co., the Yemeni crown prince and Cambodian heads of government; and during the summer Indonesia's Sukarno, Egypt's Nasser and Pakistani leaders are expected. At the same time the CPSU puts out the red carpet for an official French CP delegation who have questions of inter-CP relations to discuss. No capital ever saw such a tidal wave of foreign VIP's before; but nothing like the Soviet government's peace diplomacy has ever before been waged, and no other capital has learned as Moscow has to take such things in its stride.

It is a whale of a city in a way that Americans with a sense of their own country's historical development can best appreciate. It's a conglomerate of elements that are far behind America, with others that are as good or better, but often recalling the rearing of the American colossi at one stage or another.

WHETHER THE THOUSANDS of great new buildings are beautiful or not in themselves—and in general they are not—all are wonderful in what they have to say about their builders' bigness of perspective, their proud contempt for limitations upon Man the Builder's power. This impresses you especially when you visit the permanent exhibition testifying to the first socialist country's achievements in construction, the size of which makes you gasp and reach hopelessly for adjectives. Perhaps there is a Russian echo of the Chicago World's Fair in this city-in-itself with its floodlit gilt fountains and triumphal arches in the massive Stalin style, its exhibition palaces in the styles of all the Soviet republics. But its model displays of mechanized scientific farming, through which swarm rugged peasant types brought from the remotest collective farms by the thousands every day, are an agronomic miracle; and its peaceful atomic exhibit shows advances beyond any in the world.

The improvement in clothing since I was last here is appreciable but comparatively small, this being the area of consumer-goods production in which the U.S.S.R. has done the least well. The food situation improves with steady strides, shops are well stocked and hunger is a forgotten condition. The city's television audience, reckoned at about four to a set, numbers three million. Programs I have caught include the British fashion show, the movie "Rome 11 O'Clock," and a Jan Peerce concert in which his Jewish songs won overwhelming preference. On the radio, BBC programs come in clear as a bell and the Voice of America is popular as long as it plays music, which it does for two hours a night.

THE PEOPLE ARE ALL in a hurry and push each other a lot on the swarming sidewalks, and at the street crossings where girls hold out bouquets of flowers for sale. (Moscow's special touch is a cop in a loudspeaker car whose voice booms out lecturing the inconsiderate: "You in the gray suit, stop shoving.")

Open-air cafes are increasing, and in the many parks after work-hours there are queues for dance places and the strains of earth-girdling tunes from "Merry Widow" to "Besame Mucho."

IN THE YOUNGER GENERATION there is a new spirit of seeking relaxation and fun in couples and small groups, rather than in large numbers as members of organizations. Last night, on a small lake near where I am staying, I watched three boys in one boat trying to pair off with three girls in another. (They hadn't yet succeeded when I hurried on, late for the 8 p.m. curtain of Obrastsov's deliriously funny Puppet Theater.)

The circlings, the approaches first timid and becoming bolder, the gigglings—all were completely normal, a courtship performance to be seen in any city in the world. The fact that one mentions such a scene under a Moscow date-line may be a tribute to the cold-war propagandists who have striven so mightily to convince us that Russians are not people. But what fixed the scene in my mind was the remark of my Muscovite companion, as we stood there by the lake in the midst of trees and gardens and broad new boulevards:

"This is the very center of the worst slums of old Moscow, the lower depths you have read about in Gorky."

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The Mandarins

THE RESISTANCE was one thing; the Liberation was another. When it was a question of getting rid of the Germans to make France free again, political differences could be submerged and there could be working together. But after that? Could there be unity still, or would the old differences crop up again, perhaps even more fiercely when there was a chance to express oneself after the years of clandestine work, silence and death?

It is Christmas 1944 as Simone de Beauvoir's novel* opens and the left-wing intellectual elite have come together to celebrate at a party in a free Paris. The central figures of the novel are here: Henri Perron, editor of a non-Communist leftist paper established during the war which was now publishing openly; his beautiful Paula, of whom he was tired, who tried to make herself believe that living only to love Perron was enough; Robert Dubreuilh, writer and philosopher, who felt the time was now to found a non-Communist socialist movement; his wife Anne, 20 years his junior, a psychoanalyst deeply troubled about herself and her loyalty to the past (the dead) and her relation to the present; their daughter Nadine, at 18 suffused in the bitterness of her experiences, in her anger over the death of her young lover at the hands of the Nazis, rebelling against intellectualism.

SIMONE de BEAUVOIR

A CONTEMPORARY THEME: There has been much speculation as to the prototypes of the figures in **The Mandarins.** It is generally assumed that Dubreuilh is Jean-Paul Sartre (certainly many of the ideas are his) and that Anne is Simone de Beauvoir. This reviewer thought he also found Albert Camus, Andre Malraux and Arthur Koestler, among others, woven into the composite characters; but the identities are not so important. What is important is the contemporary theme of the book—the search for ways to freedom, the meaning of literature in a politically-divided world. And at the core of the theme, made even more contemporary by the world-wide Communist reappraisal, is the question: Can the non-Communist Left work with the Communists on terms other than those set by the Communists?

The story and the theme hit close to home for one who was so intimately involved in the founding of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, for the careers of Perron's **L'Espoir** and the GUARDIAN have striking parallels—even though one paper was founded during a hot war and the other during the deep freeze. Can a political newspaper serve its function fully if it is not associated with a political movement? How far can a Left newspaper criticize apparently substantiated distortions in a socialist country without giving aid and comfort to the enemies of socialism?

ACCURATE REPORTING: These are questions which are strikingly debated in the book. And for all her over-abundant detail, Simone de Beauvoir is a most sensitive reporter. Her account of the relationship between the Communists and the non-Communist intellectuals is painstakingly accurate. Many progressives who bear footprints on their faces from the political wars of the left will rub their sore spots reflectively on reading this book. And many Communists examining the past will reflect ruefully.

But this is not merely a political novel. It traces the intimate lives of its intellectuals with a particularity that sometimes becomes caustic—because Mlle. de Beauvoir's intellectuals are so immersed in their own intellectual argument that they seem to have forgotten how to live, and how the rest of the people live. Here again the author writes with brilliance of a world she knows well.

The non-intellectuals in the world of the Mandarins are rare. This world therefore is a rather limited one and the reactions of the reader are limited, for all the intensity of the argument and the searching honesty of the author. There is much talk of personal and private morality; but the concepts seem to get lost in the minds of the Mandarins. There is a ferment about "mankind's" road to true freedom; but mankind rarely appears. One has a sense of the enormous reputation and public worth of some of the Mandarins; but one also looks on with a sense of horror as their personal hopelessness and desperation are spread out. There is, for example, a love affair between the psychoanalyst and an American author which is presented in heroic proportions but which is almost embarrassing in its romantic despair.

A WORLD OF PEOPLE: The endless verbal jousting makes one wonder whether Mlle. de Beauvoir has not produced in part a satire of intellectuals striving intensely for a public morality while their own sense of personal values has slipped out the back door.

This is a fascinating book, even if it is an exasperating one at times. Perhaps it was not meant as a satire, but this reviewer would like to believe that a woman as perceptive as Mlle. de Beauvoir is saying to her Mandarins: remove the silken robes that veil your intellects and get off your left bank; you may be much less tragic about life in a world full of people.

—James Aronson

*THE MANDARINS, by Simone de Beauvoir. World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York. 610 pp. $6.